

Serhiy Blavatskyu

THE UKRAINIAN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRESS
IN THE SWISS CONFEDERATION (1915—1931)

Здійснено всебічне і синтетичне дослідження української англо-мовної преси у Швейцарії першої половини ХХ ст. Уперше систематизовано, класифіковано та досліджено чотири українські друковані ЗМІ англійською мовою у Швейцарії на основі їхнього емпіричного вивчення de visu. Праця орієнтована на розробку нових напрямів вивчення української інформаційно-пропагандистської діяльності у Швейцарській Конфедерації у минулому столітті.

Ключові слова: Швейцарія, Женева, Лозанна, український, англо-мовна преса, бюлетень, газета, журнал.

Совершено всестороннее и синтетическое исследование украинской англоязычной прессы в Швейцарии первой половины ХХ ст. Впервые систематизировано, классифицировано и исследовано четыре украинских печатных СМИ на английском языке в Швейцарии на основании их эмпирического исследования de visu. Работа ориентирована на разработку новых направлений изучения украинской информационно-пропагандистской деятельности в Швейцарской Конфедерации в прошлом веке.

Ключевые слова: Швейцария, Женева, Лозанна, украинский, англоязычная преса, бюлетень, газета, журнал.

ABSTRACT

The paper aims to make a comprehensive and synthetic study of the Ukrainian English-language press in Switzerland of the first half of the 20th century. For the first time ever, we have identified, systematized, classified and examined four Ukrainian print media in the English language in Switzerland on the basis of their empirical study de visu. The research seeks to develop new avenues for a study of the Ukrainian

information-propagandist activities in the Swiss Confederation in the XX century.

Key words: *Switzerland, Geneva, Lausanne, Ukrainian, English-language, press, bulletin, newspaper, magazine.*

A **relevance** of the research subject is determined by an insufficient study of the problem of the Ukrainian foreign-language press, in particular, the Ukrainian English-language print media in Europe in a diachronic dimension. An important factor of the relevance of this problem is an intensification of the European integration of Ukraine — its reintegration into the European information and communicative, sociopolitical, economic and cultural space in early XXI century. Contemporary European integration of Ukraine makes relevant the European legacy of this country — the Ukrainian—European transnational dialogue, communication and cooperation in a retrospective. Of a specific relevance are the relations, communication, and cooperation of Ukrainian and European «opinion leaders». A relevant period is early XX century and more broadly — the interwar period (1918—1939). Important (often unique and indispensable) sources on this subject are the Ukrainian print media issued in Roman-Germanic languages of Europe. A comprehensive research of these media sources enables us to evaluate the impact of the media coverage of Ukraine-related topics in Roman-Germanic languages.

Moreover, the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine (since 2014) and in particular the Russian «hybrid warfare» (specifically, information war, propaganda) against the European aspirations of Ukraine in particular and the EU, in general, makes relevant historical lessons of the foreign-language information and propagandist activities in Europe. Of a particular interest in this context are those ones conducted by the Ukrainian émigré organizations, societies, civil and political figures in Switzerland during the national liberation movement period of Ukrainians / The Ukrainian Revolution¹ (1917—1921 yrs) and more broadly — during the interwar epoch (1918—1939).

A relevance of the research subject was reflected in some growth of scholarly interest about the Ukrainian English-language press in the Swiss Confederation. Fragmentary, episodic references about the Uk-

¹ Cf. classical studies on this subject: *Reshetar J. S. The Ukrainian Revolution: A study in Nationalism.* — Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1952 and *Huczak T. The Ukraine, 1917—1921: A Study in Revolution.* — Harvard : Harvard University Press, 1977.

rainian press publishing movement in Switzerland could be found in the papers, monographs, historical and bibliographical essays, guides and encyclopedic entries of the prominent Ukrainian émigré scholars. These are E. Batchinsky's historical and bibliographical essay¹, S. Narizhnyi's monograph regarding the cultural work of the Ukrainian interwar emigration in Europe², A. Zhyvotko's classical monograph about the Ukrainian press' history³, E. Yu. Pelenskyi's indispensable bibliography guide concerning Ucrainica records in the West European languages⁴, A. Zhukovsky's encyclopedic entry in the English-language Encyclopedia of Ukraine «Switzerland»⁵, V. Markus's encyclopedic entry entitled «Press and information bureaus abroad»⁶ and particular studies of the Ukrainian domestic researchers specializing in media history, e.g., O. Bohuslavsky⁷. However, there was no separate, synthetic and comprehensive study of the Ukrainian English-language periodicals in Switzerland so far.

A critical juxtaposition of the above-minded reference literature and bibliography guides allows us to draw a conclusion about an insufficient study of the research problem. In this regard, we agree and share the opinion of the prominent Ukrainian interwar émigré figure of Switzerland — E. Batchinsky. He denounced the mistakes and gaps of

¹ Cf. *Batchinsky E.* Україніка в Швейцарії [Ucrainica in Switzerland] // Україна = L'Ukraine. — Paris, 1950. — № 4. — P. 249—252 and a follow-up of his essay: *Batchinsky E.* Україніка в Швейцарії [Ucrainica in Switzerland] // Україна = L'Ukraine. — Paris, 1951. — № 5. — P. 345—349.

² *Narizhnyi S.* Українська еміграція: Культурна праця української еміграції 1919—1939 (матеріали, зібрані С. Наріжним до частини другої) [The Ukrainian emigration: A cultural work of the Ukrainian emigration 1919—1939 (materials, collected by S. Narizhnyi to the second part)]. — Kyiv, 1999.

³ *Zhyvotko A.* Історія української преси [The History of the Ukrainian press]. — Munich, 1989—1990.

⁴ *Pelenskyi Ie. Yu.* UCRAINICA в західно-європейських мовах : вибрана бібліографія = Ucrainica in West European languages : A Selected Bibliography. — Edmonton : Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1990. — Research Report № 40.

⁵ *Zhukovsky A.* Switzerland // Encyclopedia of Ukraine. In 5 Vols ; edited by D. H. Struk. — Toronto ; Buffalo ; London, 1993. — Vol. V. — P. 134—136.

⁶ *Markus V.* Press and information bureaus abroad // Encyclopedia of Ukraine. In 5 Vols ; edited by D. H. Struk. — Toronto ; Buffalo ; London, 1993. — Vol. IV. — P. 214—216.

⁷ *Bohuslavskyi O.* Преса міжвоєнної української еміграції і боротьба за незалежність України: історичний шлях, досвід, дискусії : монографія [The press of the Ukrainian interwar emigration and struggle for independence of Ukraine: historical way, experience, discussions : A Monograph]. — Zaporizhia : Prosvita, 2008. — 452 p.

E. Yu. Pelenskyi's bibliography guide of Ukrainica in West European languages, in particular, those published in Switzerland (Batchinsky, 1950: 251). Thus, this controversy in the reference literature requires reinterpretation and a new study of the problem on a superior level of research in humanities, e.g., the press studies discourse. The main reason of these mistakes, in particular in the case of periodicals, presumably, was caused by the inability of access of above-minded researchers to full sets of the press. That factor, in turn, obstructed periodicals' historical and mainly bibliographical study *de visu*.

As a compensator of gaps in the Ukrainian and foreign bibliography and the reference literature concerning the research subject could avail the Swiss bibliography guides. In this context, we should distinguish and highlight the indispensable two-volume guide of the renowned Swiss bibliographer of the press F. Blaser, published in Basel in 1956 and 1958.

In the process of our research work during 2012—2015 time period in Ukrainian and foreign libraries, archives, the complex of the Ukrainian English-language press in Switzerland of the stated period has been identified. This was accomplished through a comprehensive and systematic study of the foreign-language bibliography (bibliographic heuristics) and scholarly reference sources, as well as OPAC (e-catalogue) distance analysis and fieldwork in the holdings of the archives and libraries. The latter included The Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine (Lviv), The Ivan Franko National University in Lviv Scientific Library (Lviv), the Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (Kyiv), the BDIC (the Library of Contemporary International Documentation (Nanterre, France), the BNF (National Library of France (Paris, France), the Swiss National Library (Bern), the CUL (Carleton University Library (Ottawa, Canada) and the Butler Library of the Columbian University Libraries (NY, USA).

The object of the research paper is the Ukrainian English-language press in the Swiss Confederation. **Chronological frames** of the study span 1905—1939 s. This time was a period of genesis, formation, evolution, dialectic/transformation of the Ukrainian English-language print media in Switzerland.

The paper **aims** to make a comprehensive study of the indicated press in the context of Swiss-Ukrainian information-propagandist activities in Switzerland. The **objectives** of the study are:

- to identify a complex of the Ukrainian English-language press in Switzerland of stated period (1909—1939);
- to systematize the print media in question;
- to conduct a typological classification of the identified press;
- to determine their editorial policies, dominants, and determinants of their content;
- to elucidate their political and ideological affiliation on the basis of their editorial policies;
- to make a cluster analysis of the print media in question.

The **key methods** in the research are qualitative ones, in particular, bibliographical heuristics, qualitative content analysis, comparative- and cluster analysis.

The **scientific novelty** of the study lies in the following. A complex of the interwar Ukrainian English-language print media published in the Swiss Confederation will be introduced into journalism studies, media history for the first time. These media sources serve as important and sometimes indispensable records for historians, researchers of international relations and media history. They contain substantial records about the activities of the Ukrainian émigrés in Switzerland, information and propagandist and counter-propaganda campaign. Last, but not least, they attest to the Swiss-Ukrainian transnational communication and cooperation of the first half of the XX century.

In the context of the research subject, it is worth noting that the Ukrainian press publishing activities in Switzerland have old traditions. They date back to the second half of the XIX century and specifically the book and press publishing movement of the Ukrainian émigrés (Zhukovsky A., 1993: 135).

During the WWI the Ukrainians in Lausanne and personally V. Stepankovsky ventured with creation and organization of the Ukrainian Bureau in Lausanne. This was a special representative office with information and political functions. Its administration was located at the following address: 11, Avenue de la Gare, Lausanne. The organization had rather an information and propagandist character and was actively engaged in the cause of the Ukrainian independence (Hoffman: 597). The Bureau disseminated the latest news about Ukraine, which it received from I. Nimchyk and I. Krevetsky, who worked at that time for the Press Bureau of the Austrian Ministry of War (Markus, 1993: 214).

The diverse international structure of the office included 20 employees, only 8 of them — Ukrainians (including M. Tyshkevych, E. Batchinsky, O. Kovalenko, D. Manuilsky, V. Polissadiv, S. Romanovsky). The chief office manager of the Ukrainian Bureau in Switzerland was the Swiss pastor G. Neymark, and the chief secretary was Swiss J. Fortey (Zhukovsky A.: 135).

There is some discrepancy in the Ukrainian historiography among the Ukrainian émigré researchers about the exact date of the organization's closure. According to references of A. Zhukovsky, the bureau closed down in 1921 (Ibid), and E. Batchinsky affirms, it functioned up to 1923 (Batchinsky, 1950: 349). In this context, we are more inclined to share the viewpoint of the prominent Ukrainian émigré figure in Switzerland — E. Batchinsky regarding the chronological frames of the Ukrainian Bureau in Switzerland functioning (1915—1923). An additional argument for such chronology is a critical juxtaposition of the bibliography guides and findings aids held at the holdings of the Canadian libraries and archives, in particular, National Archives of Canada¹.

The key, leading place in its information-propagandist and counterpropaganda campaign took the French-language socio-political semi-monthly newspaper «L'Ukraine» (1915—1921). The first issue of the periodical appeared on the 1st of June 1915, and the last one (Vol. 6 №124) — on June 1, 1921². The funding of its publishing was conducted primarily by the agency of two channels. First, there were secret financial subsidies of the German Embassy in Bern. The second source was lavish donations of the wealthy Roman Catholic aristocrat of the ancient Ukrainian-Lithuanian noble lineage, the count M. Tyshkevych³, who provided funding for this publication in 1915—1917 yrs and cooperated with it as a contributor. The semi-monthly was published by V. Stepankivsky with the collaboration of M. Tyshkevych.

This newspaper is of avail as an important and sometimes indispensable source of references about the Ukrainian-related topics during 1915—1921 time period. It covered the developments in Ukraine, the Ukrainian activities abroad (specifically in Switzerland during the WWI)

¹ See e.g. The Andry Zhuk Collection in the National Archives of Canada (Ottawa).

² The full set of this newspaper is available in the holdings of the Swiss National Library (Bern).

³ Tyshkevych M. // Encyclopedia of Ukraine. In 5 Vols. — Toronto ; Buffalo ; London, 1993.— Vol. V. — P. 334—335.

and media reception of the Ukrainian national liberation movement (the Ukrainian national revolution) in the form of the digest of the West European press.

In early 1915 W. Stepankivsky in arrangement with The Ukrainian National Council of the USA ventured to publish the English-language broadsheet newspaper «The Ukraine» (Batchinsky, 1951: 251]. The first issue of this periodical appeared on the 20th September 1915, and the last (3^d) number came out on May 22, 1916¹. Thus, this newspaper appeared only in 1915—1916 yrs, not in 1915—1920 time period, as indicated in the foreign and domestic bibliography guides and historical works of the Ukrainian researchers².

Its editorial office shared the premises of the Ukrainian Bureau in Switzerland at that time (as well as «L'Ukraine») and was located the following address: 23, Avenue de la Gare, Lausanne. In this context, it is worth noting that the newspaper was published at the same printing house: Lausanne, Imprimeries Réunies. The editors-in-chief of the publication were W. Stepankivsky and the Swiss journalist Jeanne Fortay. They were assisted by M. Kospot from Geneva (Blaser, 1958: 1031). The funding for the publication was provided mainly by the Ukrainian National Council in the USA. Although the editorial staff planned to issue this newspaper once a month, it appeared at irregular intervals. Hypothetically, the main reason for such an irregularity in publication was unstable funding from the Ukrainian patrons in America.

The English-language policy of this edition was well reflected in its international scope and appeal. The newspaper was circulated mainly abroad — in England and the USA, although it was also read in the continental Europe.

The quintessence of the editorial policy of the newspaper was propaganda of nation-state aspirations of Ukrainians, i.e., a justification

¹ *Availability*: **BDIC**: 1915 — № 1, 1916 — № 2, 3.

² *Cf.* The renowned Ukrainian émigré historian of the press A. Zhyvotko claims that the publication started coming out in 1916. Zhyvotko, p. 220. Additionally, see also the encyclopedic entry of V. Gabor (Gabor V. The Ukraine // *Ukrayinska presa v Ukrayini ta sviti*. — Lviv, 2014. — P. 474—475) and A Research Guide to Ukrainian and Carpatho-Rusyn American Newspapers, Periodicals, and Calendars-Almanacs on Microfilm (1886—1976): Revised and enhanced edition of the 1998 Guide / compiled by H. Myroniuk and A. Lushnycky. — Minneapolis, 2005. — P. 195. The above-minded Ukrainian researchers have indicated the time frame of «The Ukraine» publication since 1915 till 1920. Thus, we correct these errors for the first time here.

of the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination. A leitmotif of several editorial, op-eds and opinion pieces was a deliberation of the Ukrainian question in the West European public sphere. In this context, a digest of the West European media (mainly English press: «Bristol Times», «The Daily Chronicle», «The Evening Standard», «The Times») concerning the Ukrainian cause was regularly printed there. E.g., the newspaper regularly ran informational reports «English Press and the Problem of the Ukraine» and «Wealth of Ukraine».

The authors of the publication denounced the Russian government for ignoring Ukrainian affairs. They also analyzed in depth transformations of the Russian policy towards political claims and aspirations of Ukrainians¹.

The newspaper also popularized the Ukrainian cause in the English-language countries. In this context, we should highlight the interesting features of its English contributors — A. Raybould and A. Lethbridge². The former presented the British travelers' perspective and reception of the Ukrainian landscape, people, urban environment, and gender issues. And the latter gave the foreign audience better understanding of the genesis of the Ukrainian armed forces in retrospective — the historical phenomenon of Cossacks. Besides, there were also informative features about the Ukrainian Sich Soldiers, specifically their female representatives³.

The newspaper regularly ran informational reports and news items about the activities of the Ukrainian National Council in the USA. E.g., on the pages of the publication, there were published official documents of this organization, specifically, their resolutions.

There were also news items and reports about developments in different regions of Ukraine during the WWI. In particular, the publication covered military operations of the Russian army in Galicia and informed about the attempts aimed at the release of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Archbishop — the count A. Sheptytsky — from the Russian captivity.

¹ Better Late than Never? Change in the Russian Policy towards the Ukrainians? // *The Ukraine*. — Lausanne, 1916. — № 2. — P. 2.

² *Raybould A.* Glimpses into Ukraine Life // *The Ukraine*. — Lausanne, 1916. — № 2. — P. 6; *Lethbridge A.* The Cossack // *The Ukraine*. — Lausanne, 1916. — № 2. — P. 7—8.

³ The Ukrainian Girl Soldiers // *The Ukraine*. — Lausanne, 1916. — № 2. — P. 5.

Although «The Ukraine» pursued the same editorial policy as its francophone vis-à-vis, its content structure, format, layout differed. This newspaper employed intensive visualization techniques. An objective of such visualization was a persuasive communication. That was a means of underpinning its ideologemes, theses, and arguments about the Ukrainian nation-state aspirations. In this context, there were photos of the Ukrainian Galician refugees bylined «The Great Exodus»¹, illustrations of the oil pumping in Galicia and Dnipro river's views. The newspaper also featured a reproduction of painting about the Ukrainian countryside evening parties.

In addition to the periodical «L'Ukraine», the Ukrainian Bureau in Switzerland also issued hectographed communications (press releases for the press) in French, German, English and Italian languages tailoring to different press agents in the West European countries. They informed the Western readership about the current developments in East Galicia and Russian Ukraine during the WWI. These communications entitled «Bureau Ukrainien en Suisse» (Lausanne, 1915—1918) and «Communiqués du Bureau Ukrainien en Suisse. Service spécial: recueil complet» (Lausanne, 1917—1918) we have managed to re-discover in the holdings of the Butler Library of the Columbian University (NY).

In 1916 in the capital of Switzerland — Bern upon an initiative of the League of Allogenean Nationalities of Russia there was established the Bureau of the Nationalities of Russia. It was headed by the eminent Ukrainian journalist, publisher, nationalist socio-political figure D. Dontsov.

With a view to propagandize its policy and popularize references about the problems of the allogenean (non-Russian) nationalities/peoples of Russia, in particular its national liberation movement, nation-state aspirations and the right to self-determination, the Bureau issued three identical information bulletins (Ferro, 1973: 112, 113; Un Bureau des Nationalités de Russie à Berne, 1916: 3]. The periodical appeared in English (under the title «The Bulletin of Nationalities of Russia»), French (entitled «Bulletin des Nationalités de Russie») and German (under the title «Korrespondenz der Nationalitäten Russlands») (Blaser

¹ It was an explicit analogy with the Great Exodus of Jews from Egypt. Thus, the editorial office emphasized the historical parallels between the Jewish and Ukrainian nations, which transcended millennia and attested to congeniality of their «modus Vivendi».

F., 1956: 211). Thus, this medium tailored to different target audiences in the Western Europe.

In total, 22 issues of each bulletin came out in 1916—1917¹. The publication of the periodicals was realized due to the lavish financial support of V. Stepankivsky and assistance of F. Koroliv (Zhukovsky, 1993: 135). The quintessence of the editorial policy of the bulletin was to inform, enlighten the West European public opinion about the state of affairs, nation-state aspirations of the allogenian nations of the Russian Empire. And its *idée fixe* was to assert their right to national self-determination. In the regard of this publication, we challenge an approach of the Polish bibliographers J. Lorentowicz, A. M. Chmurski, who included these bulletins into a repertoire of the Polish bibliography² (*La Pologne en France*, 1938: 68). Although the primary focus in its content was put on a justification of the national and political rights of Poles in the Russian Empire, it was only a means in the broader context of the liberation of the allogenian nations. Moreover, the leading Ukrainian émigré historians, scholars — V. Markus, A. Zhukovsky and particularly E. Batchinsky indicated this bulletin as belonging to the foreign *Ucrainica*³. And the very fact that the Ukrainian nationalists — D. Dontsov and V. Stepankivsky (the Ukrainian nationalists with anti-Polish stance) were publishers of this bulletin, doesn't conform to its inclusion into the Polish bibliography of national press.

Another center of the extensive press publishing movement of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in Switzerland was Geneva. In the interwar period, this city became a haven for diverse activities of various Ukrainian organizations. These were: the Ukrainian-Swiss Chamber of Commerce (1919—1922); the Extraordinary Financial and Economic Mission of the UNR for Western Europe (Geneva, 1919—1920); the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission (1918—1926); the Ukrainian Committee in Geneva (1919), which was later reorganized and transformed (later the very same year) in the Ukrainian Club in Geneva (1919—1934) and the Ukrainian Red Cross Abroad.

¹ **CUL**: 1916 — № 1—13, 1917 — № 14—22; **BDIC**: 1916 — № 1—13, 1917 — № 14—22.

² *Lorentowicz J., Chmurski A. M.* *La Pologne en France: essai d'une bibliographie raisonnée.* — Champion, 1938. — Vol. II. — P. 68.

³ *Cf. Zhukovsky A.*, 1993: 135; *Markus V.*, 1993: 214 and *Batchinsky E.*, 1950: 251.

The Ukrainian-Swiss Chamber of Commerce issued its own magazine in three languages tailoring to different target audiences — in English («The Herald»), in Ukrainian («Visnyk») and in French («Le Messenger»). According to available records, specifically, publications in the Lausanne «L'Ukraine», «Le Messenger [«The Herald»] will serve to facilitate the development of commercial relations between Ukraine and Switzerland and inform the interested circles of these two countries, as well as those abroad, about the resources of Ukraine etc». The funding for publishing this press publication was realized by three channels: 1) a subscription; 2) commercial announcements, ads; 3) subventions of the Chamber or the Ukrainian Government, as well as all interested bodies (Projet du Statut de la Chambre de Commerce ... — 27, P. 3). The editor-in-chief of this magazine was E. Batchinsky (The Batchinsky Collection. — P. 4).

The lack of access to this magazine (which, probably, is available in the Batchinsky Collection of CUL (Ottawa) and a deficit of the reference literature on this subject disables a complex, comprehensive historical and bibliographical study of these periodicals, in particular, the English-language edition — «The Herald» (Geneva, 1919—[?1922]).

In early 1919 the Ukrainian Committee in Geneva was founded by P. Chyzhevsky. He was greatly helped in this venture by S. Perepelytsia, F. Koroliv, and Ye. Tymchenko (Zhukovsky, 1993: 135). The Committee published a number of brochures in French and English arguing for Ukraine's independence (Zhukovsky. *Ibid.*; Narizhnyi, 1999: 115—118). During 1919—1920s this organization issued communications in French destined for the French-language community of Switzerland (Narizhnyi, 1999: 115). Presumably, this committee could have published a typescript bulletin in English (or communications). However, we have not yet managed to find any records about its appearance or re-discover it.

Since 1922 E. Batchinsky was appointed as the official representative of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Western Europe and the liaison of the Ukrainian Red Cross to its parent International Committee in Geneva (Zhukovsky, 1993: 136). Hypothetically, this organization (the Central Bureau of the Ukrainian Red Cross Abroad (Le Croix Rouge Ukrainienne à l'étranger) could issue its own bulletin — in French and, probably, in English. Presumably, if it had functioned, this bulletin would be available in the holdings of the Batchinsky Collection.

In 1925—1926 the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Western Europe (Geneva) published two issues of the magazine entitled «Blagovistnik=L'Annonciateur= The Annunciator: Revue de la Représentation de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Autocéphalique Ukrainienne à l'étranger = Review of the Representation of Orthodox Autocephalic Church Abroad». The first issue of this religious review appeared in December 1925 and the last (№ 2/3) came out in July 1926 (Blaser F. — P. 171). This bilingual (French and English) periodical was published in printing press Hilarion Rémézov and edited by E. Batchinsky (Batchinsky E., 1950: 251).

In the 1930s the OUN (the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists) launched and developed its own press and information network in the Western Europe. Its Ukrainian Press Service issued its information bulletins — in French — under the title «Bulletin d'informations ukrainiennes» (edited by M. Kushnir) in Geneva (1930—1932) (Markus, 1993: 214—215) and in English entitled «Bulletin of Ukrainian Information» (Geneva, 1931) (Blaser F., 1956: 220; Bohuslavskiy O., 2008: 47)¹. The first issue of the English-language publication came out on April 2, and the last number appeared on October 30, 1931. The motto of this bulletin was stated as follows: «For the Ukrainian independence; against the Polish and Russian regimes» (Blaser F., 1956, 220—221).

According to A. Zhukovsky's references, M. Trotsky ran the Ukrainian Information Bureau in Geneva from 1932 (Zhukovsky, 1993: 136)². We have not found any information concerning the press publishing activities of this organization till now. Probably, this structure issued some typewritten bulletins or communications, what disables their re-discovery in the catalogs of the archives and libraries by means of OPAC.

Another center of the information and propagandist campaign of Ukrainians in the interwar Switzerland was its capital — Bern. In 1918—1926 there functioned the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in Switzerland (Zhukovsky, 1993: 135; Peschanyi, 2012: 74—82). Its archive is located in the holdings of the Central State Archives

¹ According to V. Markus encyclopedic entry, the Ukrainian Press Service of the OUN issued only the French-language bulletin in Geneva. Thus, we correct this error here for the first time.

² See also Trotsky M. // Encyclopedia of Ukraine. In 5 Vols. — Toronto ; Buffalo ; London, 1993. — Vol. V. — P. 290—291.

of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (Peschanyi O. *Ibid.*). The first head of the Mission — Ye. Lukashevych — published in Switzerland several informative brochures about Ukraine in foreign languages, in particular, the French-language comprehensive informational collection «Ukraine». According to O. Peschanyi's references, there are no periodicals in this archive. Hypothetically, we suppose that this mission (i.e. the Press Bureau attached to the mission) could have published its own English-language information bulletin (presumably, typescript), but we have not yet managed to find any records about its appearance. If this periodical existed, it would be probably available in the Batchinsky Collection or National Archive of Switzerland (Bern).

CONCLUSIONS

Our study of the Ukrainian English-language print media in Switzerland can be summarized as follows. First of all, the Ukrainian English-language press in Switzerland (1915—1931) was a unique socio-communicative phenomenon, a bifurcation counterpoint in the evolution of the Ukrainian press. It was also an unprecedented milestone in its transformation, internationalization and subsequent integration into the European information and communication space.

For the first time in media history and journalism studies, a complex of the Ukrainian English-language press in Switzerland of the indicated period has been identified, systematized, classified and introduced here. These were: «The Ukraine» (Lausanne, 1915), «The Bulletin of Nationalities of Russia» (Bern, 1916—1917), «The Herald» (Geneva, 1919—?[1922]) and «Bulletin of Ukrainian Information» (Geneva, 1931).

The dynamics of evolution of the Ukrainian English-language press in Switzerland was characterized by modifications, fluctuations, and content differentiation. This dialectic was well reflected in three principal points of bifurcation. All the studied print media one can classify in terms of their content type in three types: newspapers, bulletins, and magazines. The heterogeneity of this Ukrainian press in Switzerland was reflected in a functional differentiation of their editorial policies. There were informational bulletins, socio-political periodicals, and religious press. Their functions corresponded to aims, objectives, and missions of their corresponding publishing agents.

This press was also a transition to a new stage of relations between Ukraine and the Western Europe and deepening of the best European-Ukrainian dialogue in retrospective. The ambivalent, dual, nature of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Switzerland staff composition, the synergy of the «The Herald» heterogeneous editorial staff and its editorial policy enabled to produce mutually beneficiary media culture of diverse national and socio-cultural backgrounds. Besides, it was instrumental in influencing the «opinion leaders» in Switzerland regarding the Ukrainian cause. The result of this cooperation was also an introduction of the *Ucrainica* into the public sphere, in particular, the English-language media discourse, an increase in awareness of the Western public concerning Ukraine and a popularization of the Ukrainian topics.

A follow-up study is to conduct a long-term diachronic comparative analysis of the Ukrainian interwar English-language press in Europe (specifically, in the UK), the USA and Canada. Another possible avenue for a research is to make a content and discourse analysis of its editorial policy, specifically, ideologemes.

A comprehensive examination of these media, documentary sources, its interpretation, and reinterpretation on a superior level in humanities will be beneficial for the Ukrainian relations with the West in many aspects. First of all, it will help Ukraine to develop an optimal model of the information-propagandist and counter-propagandist policies abroad, in particular, in Europe. Second, it will facilitate transnational cooperation and communication between Ukraine and the Swiss Confederation in various areas in the perspective of XXI century. And last, but not least, it will accelerate reintegration of Ukraine in the European information and communicative space.

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Олеся Дроздовська

УКРАЇНСЬКА ПРЕСА НА ЗЕЛЕНОМУ КЛІНІ
Й У МАНЬЧЖУРІЇ 1917—1921 рр.:
ІСТОРІЯ ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ ТА ОСОБИСТОСТІ

Досліджено історію українського пресовидання на Зеленому Кліні і в Маньчжурії у період українського національного піднесення на Далекому Сході. Зафіксовано імена осіб, які брали участь у творенні українських друкованих засобів масової інформації впродовж 1917—1921 рр., систематизовано біографічні відомості про них та зареєстровано факти співпраці із досліджуваними газетами й журналами.

Ключові слова: українська преса, Зелений Клин, Маньчжурія, біографічні відомості.

Исследована история украинской журналистики на Зеленом Клине и в Маньчжурии в период украинского национального подъема на Дальнем Востоке. Зафиксировано имена лиц, участвовавших в создании украинских печатных средств массовой информации в те-